

CERTIFIED MAIL RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

JUN - 9 2011

Via Facsimile and First Class Mall

Fax (303) 623-2443 Tel (303) 623-4762

Pat Waak Colorado Democratic Party 777 Santa Fe Drive Denver, CO 80204

RE: MUR 6407

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Senate Conservatives Fund, et al.

Dear Ms. Waak:

On June 7, 2011, the Federal Election Commission reviewed the allegations in your complaint dated October 25, 2010, and found that on the basis of the information provided in your complaint, and information provided by the respondents, there is no reason to believe Senate Conservatives Fund and Barry Wynn, in his official capacity as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2), or that Buck for Colorado and Kenneth Salazar, in his official capacity as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f), provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). The Commission also found that there is no reason to believe Senator James DeMint or Kenneth R. Buck violated the Act in this matter. Accordingly, on June 7, 2011, the Commission closed the file in this matter.

Documents related to the case will be placed on the public record within 30 days. See Statement of Policy Regarding Disclosure of Closed Enforcement and Related Files, 68 Fed. Reg. 70,426 (Dec. 18, 2003) and Statement of Policy Regarding Placing First General Counsel's Reports on the Public Record, 74 Fed. Reg. 66132 (Dec. 14, 2009). The Factual and Legal Analyses, which more fully explain the Commission's findings, are enclosed.

Pat Waak, Colorado Democratic Party MUR 6407 Page 2 of 2

The Act allows a complainant to seek judicial review of the Commission's dismissal of this action. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(8). If you have any questions, please contact Thomas J. Andersen, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 694-1650.

Sincerely,

Christopher Hughey Acting General Counsel

BY: Peter G. Blumberg

Assistant General Counsel

Enclosures
Factual and Legal Analyses (2)

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1	FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION			
2 3	FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS			
4				
5	RESI	PONDENTS: Senate Conservatives Fund and Barry Wynn,	MUR 6407	
6		in his official capacity as treasumr		
7		Senator James DeMint		
8				
9	I.	INTRODUCTION		
10		This matter was generated by a complaint filed with the Federal Elec	tion Commission by	
11	Pat Waak, alleging violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the			
12	Act"), by sienate Conservatives Fund and Barry Wynn, in his official capacity as treasurer, and			
13	Senator James DeMint.			
14	II. <u>FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS</u>			
15		This matter involves alleged coordination between, on the one hand,	the Senate	
16	Conservatives Fund ("Fund") and Senator James DeMint, and on the other, Buck for Colorado			
17	("Buck Committee") and Kenneth R. Buck, a candidate for U.S. Senator from Colorado in 2010			
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dollars to Buck in earmarked contributions. The complaint alleges that, under these

circumstances, the reported expenditures appear to have been coordinated. In response, the

Respondents argue that there was no coordination because there are no facts that satisfy the

conduct standard of the Commission's regulations. Upon review of the complaint, responses,

and other available information, there appears to be no basis for concluding that the Buck

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Factual & Legal Analysis MUR 6407 (Senate Conservatives Fund) Page 2 of 8

- 1 Committee coordinated with the Fund regarding the disbursements reported by the Fund as
- 2 independent expenditures.

A. Factual Background

The Fund registered with the Commission as a non-connected PAC in April 2008, listing DeMint as a "Leadership PAC Sponsor." The Fund's website states that it is "chaired by U.S. Sen. Jim DeMint (R-South Carolina)" and "dedicated to electing strong conservatives to the United States Senate." http://senateconservatives.com/site/about. Between June 5, 2010, and October 27, 2010, the Fund reported approximately \$440,000 in independent expenditures in support of Buck, with about 60% of that amount consisting of media advertising/placement and the remainder consisting mainly of email list rental/usage.² Based on the Fund's independent expenditure reporting and a search of publicly available sources, it appears that the Fund's advertisements pertaining to the 2010 Colorado Senate race consisted of (1) a 60-second radio ad in mid-July 2010, (2) a 30-second television ad broadcast in early October 2010, and (3) two disbursements for "web ads" in August and October 2010. The radio ad promoted Buck's positions on illegal immigration, taxes, and federal spending, concluding with the following statements: "If those are your values, vote for Ken Buck in the Republican Senate Primary. For more information, go to senateconservatives.com." http://smategoscrvatives.com/site/post/283/acf-laugches-radio-ad-in-colorado. The television ad criticized the votes of Buck's opponent, Senator Michael Bennett, on government spending and health care bills, concluding with the following statement: "Michael Bennett. He's already been in

¹ The Statement of Organization lists MINT PAC, another federally registered leadership PAC sponsored by DeMint, as an affiliated committee. MINT PAC's filings with the Commission do not show any contributions, expenditures, or other disbursements in connection with Buck's campaign.

² The Fund reported independent expenditures in 2010 in support of several other Senate candidates, including over \$100,000 on each of six candidates. The Fund also disclosed \$10,000 in direct contributions to the Buck Committee in 2010, exhausting its limit for the primary and general elections. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A).

- Washington too long." http://senateconservatives.com/site/post/342/scf-launches-ad-targeting-1
- 2 bennet-in-colorado.
- 3 The complaint bases its coordination allegations on these facts: (1) DeMint endorsed Buck
- 4 in April 2010; (2) since endorsing Buck, DeMint has actively campaigned with him, including a
- July 8, 2010, visit to Denver, Colorado, to "talk to Buck and then join him at a campaign event to 5
- speak on his behalf;" (3) the July 8 event occurred during the Fund's "spending spree" on behalf of 6
- 7 Buck that included a \$29,500 "independent" expenditure on June 29, 2010, for a "Buck Email List"
- and a \$37,750 "independent" expenditure on July 16, 2010, for Buck radio spots: 3 (4) a few weaks 8
- 9 later, the Fund paid for a \$55,150 "media buy to support Ruck" (reported as an independent
- 10 expenditure for "Radio Placement"); (5) the Fund sent out emails soliciting funds for Buck's
- 11 campaign "[r]ight before and right after DeMint and Buck campaigned together;" and (6) the Fund
- 12 transferred \$235,769 in earmarked contributions to the Buck campaign by the end of August 2010.
- 13 Complaint at 2-4.
- 14 The complaint cites several publicly available sources to support its allegations, focusing on
- 15 a statement reportedly made by DeMint regarding the Fund's independent expenditures: "He [Buck]
- 16 can't know what I'm doing [and] I don't know what they're [the Buck campaign] doing except what
- 17 I find out on their website." Manu Raju, Dalling PAC fills primary coffers, POLITICO, Aug. 10,
- 18 2010 ("POLITICO article"). The complaint alleges that, in fact, DeMint knew what Buck was doing
- 19 "because he was there in Denver doing it with him." Complaint at 4. The article states that Buck
- 20 and DeMint "said they have had no conversations about DeMint's financial investment in the race,
- 21 denying there was any discussion about the [radio] ad buy." POLITICO article. DeMint also
- reportedly stated that "he's doing everything lawfully and that he's got 'legal people all over this'" 22

It is not clear how the complainant arrived at the \$37,750 figure; the Fund disclosed a \$30,065 expenditure on July 16, 2010, for "Buck-Radio Placement," but reported no other related disbursements on or around that date.

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to ensure that the Fund operates in compliance with federal law, and a spokesman for Buck reportedly stated that the radio ad "is something we learned about when it was aired." *Id.*

Another article cited in the complaint contains several quotes from DeMint and Buck from

4 their speeches at the July 8, 2010, campaign event, none of which reference any independent

5 expenditures or communications planned by the Fund. Joseph Boven, "DeMint joins Buck in

6 bucking Republican establishment candidates," COLORADO INDEPENDENT, July 9, 2010.4

7 Regarding DeMint's fundraising emails (copies of which are included in a blog cited in the

complaint), two of them focus solely on Buck's campaign and solicit contributions to Buck through

the Fund's website, and one mentions several Senate candidates being supported by the Fund

"[t]hrough direct contributions, independent expenditure campaigns, and campaign donation

bundling efforts." http://www.desertconservative.com. The emails do not describe the Fund's

12 independent expenditure plans or contain any facts suggesting any contacts between DeMint and the

13 Fund, on the one hand, and Buck and the Buck Committee, on the other.

In response to the complaint, the Fund contends that "an appearance or even more than one appearance" by Senator DeMint at a Buck campaign event "does not come close" to satisfying the conduct prong of the Commission's regulations. Fund Response at 1. The Fund states that its communications (1) were not made at the "request or suggestion" of the Buck campaign; (2) were not created, produced, or distributed at the Fund's suggestion with the "assent" of Buck or his campaign; (3) were not made with the "material involvement" of Buck or his campaign and that all material information was based upon and obtained from publicly available sources; and (4) were not based upon "substantial discussions" with Buck or his

⁴ Video recordings of both speeches are available on YouTube. See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=da77fNEs2Ho (DeMint speech); http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tBjjbElciFM&feature=related (Buck speech).

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Factual & Legal Analysis .

MUR 6407 (Senate Conservatives Fund)

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- 1 campaign Id. at 1-2. Also, there were no common vendors or independent contractors between
- 2 the Fund and the Buck campaign, and the Fund did not republish, distribute, or disseminate
- 3 materials from the Buck campaign. *Id.* at 2.

Buck and the Buck Committee similarly deny that they coordinated the expenditures at

5 issue with the Fund. The response includes affidavits from Buck and the Buck Committee's

treasurer Ken Salazar, who has served as treasurer since April 2009. Both individuals state that

7 they "did not cooperate with, consult with, act in concert with, request, or suggest that" DeMint

or the Fund make any public communications supporting Buok's candidacy, and that no person

9 acting on behalf of Buck or the Buck Committee "cooperated with, consulted with, acted in

concert with, requested, or suggested that" DeMint or the Fund make any public communications

supporting Buck's candidacy. Attachments to Buck Committee Response.

The Buck Committee asserts that the complaint's interpretation of the law "would require the Commission to exceed its statutory authority by treating any payment as [a coordinated] expenditure merely because the person making the expenditure has a close relationship with the candidate." Buck Committee Response at 2. The response concludes that it is improper for the Commission to open an investigation "when the only facts contained in the complaint are evidence of lawful and constitutionally protected behavior." *Id.* at 3.

B. Legal Analysis

The central issue in this matter is whether advertisements paid for by the Fund in support of candidate Kenneth Buck were, in fact, independent expenditures, as reported, or whether they were coordinated with the Buck Committee. The complaint alleges that because DeMint and Buck were actively campaigning together in Colorado during Buck's candidacy, and in light of other campaign assistance provided by DeMint and the Fund (e.g., fundraising emails from DeMint; forwarding of

earmarked contributions), the disbursements in support of Buck reported by the Fund as independent expenditures must have been coordinated.

...

The Act provides that no multicandidate committee shall make contributions to any candidate and his or her authorized political committee with respect to any election for Federal office, which, in the aggregate, exceed \$5,000. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A). The Act provides that an expenditure made by any person "in cooperation, consultation, or concert, with, or at the request or suggestion of," a candidate or his authorized committee or agent is a emitribution to the candidate. See 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(7)(B)(i); 11 C.F.R. § 109.20(a).

A communication is coordinated with a candidate, an authorized committee, a political party committee, or an agent of any of the foregoing when the communication is (1) paid for, in whole or part by a person other than that candidate, authorized committee, or political party committee; (2) satisfies at least one of the content standards described in 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c); and (3) satisfies at least one of the conduct standards described in 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d).

11 C.F.R. § 109.21(a)(1) – (3). In contrast, an independent expenditure is an expenditure by a person for a communication expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate that is not made in cooperation, consultation, or concert with, or at the request or suggestinn of a candidate, a camidate's authorized committee, or their agents, or a political party committee or its agents. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17); 11 C.F.R. § 100.16.

In this matter, the first prong of the coordinated communication test is satisfied because the Fund is a third-party payor. The second prong of the test, the content standard, appears to be

⁵ The Commission recently revised the content standard in 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c) in response to the D.C. Circuit's decision in Shays v. FEC, 528 F.3d 914 (D.C. Cir. 2008). The Commission added a new standard to the content prong of the coordinated communications rule. 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c)(5) covers communications that are the functional equivalent of express advocacy. See Explanation and Justification for Coordinated Communications, 75 Fed. Reg. 55947 (September 15, 2010). The effective date of the new content standard is December 1, 2010, after the events at issue in this matter. The new standard would not change the analysis in this Report.

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MUR 6407 (Senate Conservatives Fund)
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satisfied in two ways: (1) the text of the radio ad contains "magic words" express advocacy ("Vote

2 for Ken Buck"), see 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.22(a) and 109.21(c)(3), and (2) the ad clearly identified Buck

3 and appears to have been broadcast in Colorado starting in mid-July 2010, well within 90 days of the

4 August 10, 2010, primary election. See 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c)(4)(i). Thus, whether or not the

5 Fund's communications were independent expenditures or coordinated communications hinges on

6 an analysis of the conduct prong of the test.

The conduct prong may be antisfied when, *inter alia*, (1) a communication is created, produced, or distributed at the request or suggestion of the candidate or his or her authorized committee, or at the suggestion of the person paying for the communication, and the candidate or his or her committee assents to that suggestion; (2) the candidate or his or her authorized committee is materially involved in certain decisions regarding the communication; or (3) the communication is created, produced, or distributed after one or more substantial discussions about the communication between the candidate and his or her authorized committee and the payor or his or her agents.

11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(1)-(3).

Based on a review of the available information, including the complaint and publicly available sources, it appears that DeMint appeared with Buck only once during the period at issue, at a July 8, 2010, campaign event in Denver. DeMint and Buck both gave speaches at the event that were recorded and made publicly available; however, there is no indication that the two men or their staffs discussed public communications planned by the Fund at that time or any other time.

Specifically, there is no allegation or information linking DeMint's appearance with Buck to the Fund's public communications, such as statements by Buck that requested or suggested that the Fund run advertisements on his behalf, or information indicating that Buck assented to the Fund's suggestion that it create, produce, or distribute ads in support of his campaign. In fact, the only

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reference to the Fund's expenditures in support of Buck appeared to be in a fundraising email in 1 2 which DeMint discussed the Fund's independent expenditure campaigns in support of several 3 candidates for U.S. Senate. However, there is no information in the email, or any other available 4 document or source, suggesting that DeMint or the Fund coordinated the expenditures at issue with 5 Buck or his campaign. Moreover, the responses, which include affidavits by Buck and his campaign treasurer, deny that any of the conduct prongs were satisfied or that the Buck Committee cooperated 6 7 with, consulted with, acted in concert with, or requested or suggested that DeMint or the Fund make 8 any public communications supporting Buck's candidacy. 9 Given the Respondents' denials, the speculative nature of the complaint, and the absence 10 of any other information suggesting coordination, the conduct prong of the coordinated 11

communications regulations has not been met, thus, there appears to be no resulting violation of the Act. Therefore, there is no reason to believe that the Senate Conservatives Fund and Barry Wynn, in his official capacity as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2), or that Senator James

14 DeMint violated the Act.

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2 3	FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS		
4 5 6 7	RESPONDENTS: Buck for Colorado and Kenneth Salazar, MUR 6407 in his official capacity as treasurer Kenneth R. Buck		
8 9	I. <u>INTRODUCTION</u>		
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A. Factual Background

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- 6 speak on his behalf;" (3) the July 8 event occurred during the Fund's "spending spree" on behalf of
- 7 Buck that included a \$29,500 "independent" expenditure on June 29, 2010, for a "Buck Email List"
- 8 and a \$37,750 "independent" expenditure on July 16, 2010, for Buck radio spots; (4) a few weeks
- 9 later, the Fund paid for a \$55,150 "media buy to support Buck" (reported as an independent
- 10 expenditure for "Radio Placement"); (5) the Fund sent out emails soliciting funds for Buck's
- campaign "[r]ight before and right after DeMint and Buck campaigned together;" and (6) the Fund
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20 and DeMint "said they have had no conversations about DeMint's financial investment in the race,

21 denying there was any discussion about the [radio] ad buy." POLITICO article. DeMint also

22 reportedly stated that "he's doing everything lawfully and that he's got 'legal people all over this'"

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Factual & Legal Analysis MUR 6407 (Buck for Colorado) Page 4 of 8

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2 reportedly stated that the radio ad "is something we learned about when it was aired." Id.

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4 their speeches at the July 8, 2010, campaign event, none of which reference any independent

5 expenditures or communications planned by the Fund. Joseph Boven, "DeMint joins Buck in

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bundling efforts." http://www.desertconservative.com. The emails do not describe the Fund's

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In response to the complaint, the Fund contends that "an appearance or even more than one appearance" by Senator DeMint at a Buck campaign event "does not come close" to satisfying the conduct prong of the Commission's regulations. Fund Response at 1. The Fund states that its communications (1) were not muste at the "request or suggestion" of the Buck campaign; (2) were not created, produced, or distributed at the Fund's suggestion with the "assent" of Buck or his campaign; (3) were not made with the "material involvement" of Buck or his campaign and that all material information was based upon and obtained from publicly available sources; and (4) were not based upon "substantial discussions" with Buck or his

⁴ Video recordings of both speeches are available on YouTube. See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=da77fNEs2Ho (DeMint speech); http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tBjjbEIciFM&fouture=related (Buck speech).

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1 campaign *Id.* at 1-2. Also, there were no common vendors or independent contractors between

2 the Fund and the Buck campaign, and the Fund did not republish, distribute, or disseminate

3 materials from the Buck campaign. Id. at 2.

Buck and the Buck Committee similarly deny that they coordinated the expenditures at issue with the Fund. The response includes affidavits from Buck and the Buck Committee's treasurer Ken Salazar, who has served as treasurer since April 2009. Both individuals state that they "did not coopetate with, contait with, aut in concert with, request, or suggest that" DeMint or the Fund make any public communications supporting Buck's candidacy, and that no person acting on behalf of Buck or the Buck Committee "cooperated with, consulted with, acted in concert with, requested, or suggested that" DeMint or the Fund make any public communications supporting Buck's candidacy. Attachments to Buck Committee Response.

The Buck Committee asserts that the complaint's interpretation of the law "would require the Commission to exceed its statutory authority by treating any payment as [a coordinated] expenditure merely because the person making the expenditure has a close relationship with the candidate." Buck Committee Response at 2. The response concludes that it is improper for the Commission to open an investigation "when the only facts contained in the complaint are evidence of lawful and constitutionally protected behavior." *Id.* at 3.

B. Legal Analysis

The central issue in this matter is whether advertisements paid for by the Fund in support of candidate Kenneth Buck were, in fact, independent expenditures, as reported, or whether they were coordinated with the Buck Committee. The complaint alleges that because DeMint and Buck were actively campaigning together in Colorado during Buck's candidacy, and in light of other campaign assistance provided by DeMint and the Fund (e.g., fundraising emails from DeMint; forwarding of

earmarked contributions), the disbursements in support of Buck reported by the Fund as independent expenditures must have been coordinated.

The Act provides that no multicandidate committee shall make contributions to any candidate and his or her authorized political committee with respect to any election for Federal office, which, in the aggregate, exceed \$5,000. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A). The Act provides that an expenditure made by any person "in cooperation, consultation, or concert, with, or at the request or suggestion of," a candidate or his autiurized committee or agant is a centribution to the candidate. See 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(7)(B)(i); 11 C.F.R. § 109.20(a).

A communication is coordinated with a candidate, an authorized committee, a political party committee, or an agent of any of the foregoing when the communication is (1) paid for, in whole or part by a person other than that candidate, authorized committee, or political party committee; (2) satisfies at least one of the content standards described in 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(é); and (3) satisfies at least one of the conduct standards described in 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d).

11 C.F.R. § 109.21(a)(1) – (3). In contrast, an independent expenditure is an expenditure by a person for a communication expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate that is not made in cooperation, consultation, or cencert with, or at the request or suggestion of a candidate, a candidate's authorized committee, or their agents, or a political party committee or its agents. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17); 11 C.F.R. § 100.16.

In this matter, the first prong of the coordinated communication test is satisfied because the Fund is a third-party payor. The second prong of the test, the content standard, appears to be

The Commission recently revised the content standard in 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c) in response to the D.C. Circuit's decision in Shays v. FEC, 528 F.3d 914 (D.C. Cir. 2008). The Commission added a new standard to the content prong of the coordinated communications rule. 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c)(5) covers communications that are the functional equivalent of express advocacy. See Explanation and Justification for Coordinated Communications, 75 Fed. Reg. 55947 (September 15, 2010). The effective date of the new content standard is December 1, 2010, after the events at issue in this matter. The new standard would not change the analysis in this Report.

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Factual & Legal Analysis . MUR 6407 (Buck for Colorado) Page 7 of 8

satisfied in two ways: (1) the text of the radio ad contains "magic words" express advocacy ("Vote

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- 2 for Ken Buck"), see 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.22(a) and 109.21(c)(3), and (2) the ad clearly identified Buck
- 3 and appears to have been broadcast in Colorado starting in mid-July 2010, well within 90 days of the
- 4 August 10, 2010, primary election. See 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c)(4)(i). Thus, whether or not the
- 5 Fund's communications were independent expenditures or coordinated communications hinges on
- 6 an analysis of the conduct prong of the test.

The confluct prong maey be satisfied when, inter alia, (1) a communication is created,

8 produced, or distributed at the request or suggestion of the candidate or his or her authorized

committee, or at the suggestion of the person paying for the communication, and the candidate or his

or her committee assents to that suggestion; (2) the candidate or his or her authorized committee is

materially involved in certain decisions regarding the communication; or (3) the communication is

created, produced, or distributed after one or more substantial discussions about the communication

between the candidate and his or her authorized committee and the payor or his or her agents.

14 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(1)-(3).

Based on a review of the available information, including the complaint and publicly available sources, it appears that DeMint appeared with Buck only once during the period at issue, at a July 8, 2010, campaign event in Denver. DeMint and Bunk both gave speaches at the event that were recorded and made publicly available; however, there is no indication that the two mea or their staffs discussed public communications planned by the Fund at that time or any other time.

Specifically, there is no allegation or information linking DeMint's appearance with Buck to the Fund's public communications, such as statements by Buck that requested or suggested that the Fund run advertisements on his behalf, or information indicating that Buck assented to the Fund's

suggestion that it create, produce, or distribute ads in support of his campaign. In fact, the only

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the Act.

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reference to the Fund's expenditures in support of Buck appeared to be in a fundraising email in

2 which DeMint discussed the Fund's independent expenditure campaigns in support of several

3 candidates for U.S. Senate. However, there is no information in the email, or any other available

4 document or source, suggesting that DeMint or the Fund coordinated the expenditures at issue with

5 Buck or his campaign. Moreover, the responses, which include affidavits by Buck and his campaign

treasurer, deny that any of the conduct prongs were satisfied or that the Buck Committee cooperated

with, consulted with, acted in concert with, or requested or suggested that DeMint or the Fund make

any public communications supporting Buck's candidacy.

Given the Respondents' denials, the speculative nature of the complaint, and the absence of any other information suggesting coordination, the conduct prong of the coordinated communications regulations has not been met, thus, there appears to be no resulting violation of the Act. Therefore, there is no reason to believe that Buck for Colorado and Kenneth Salazar, in his official capacity as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f), or that Kenneth R. Buck violated